

# M<sup>r</sup> HOBBS

Considered

In his  
[LOYALTY,  
RELIGION,  
REPUTATION, and  
MANNERS.

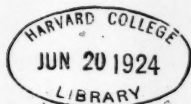
By way of Letter to Dr *Wallis*.

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LONDON,  
Printed for *Andrew Crooke*, and are  
to be sold at his Shop, at the Sign of the *Green-  
Dragon* in *St Paul's Church-yard*, 1662.



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Sir,

**I** Am one of them that admire your Writings ; and having read over your *Hobbins Heanton-timorumenos*, I cannot hold from giving you some account of the causes why I admire it : And first I considered how you handle him for his disloyalty, in these words, pag. the 5<sup>th</sup>. His great Leviathan (*wherein he placed his main strength*) is now somewhat out of season ; which, upon deserting his Royal Master in distress, (for he pretends to have been the Kings Tutor, though yet, from those who have most reason to know it, I can find but little ground for such a pretence,) was written in defence of Oliver's Title, (or whoever, by whatsoever means,

A 2

means, can get to be upmost,) placing the whole right of Government meerly in strength, and Absolving all his Majesties Subjects from their Allegiance, whenever He is not in a present capacity to force Obedience.

That which I observe and admire here first, is, That you left not this passage out, for two reasons; One, because M<sup>r</sup> Hobbes could long for nothing more than such an occasion to tell the world his own and your little stories, during the time of the late Rebellion.

When the Parliament sate, that began in *April* 1640. and was dissolved in *May* following, and in which many points of the Regal Power, which were necessary for the Peace of the Kingdom, and the safety of His Majesties Person, were disputed and denied, M<sup>r</sup> Hobbes wrote a little Treatise in English,



English, wherein he did set forth and demonstrate, That the said Power and Rights was inseparably annexed to the Sovereignty; which Sovereignty they did not then deny to be in the King; but it seems understood not, or would not understand that Inseparability. Of this Treatise, though not Printed, many Gentlemen had Copies, which occasioned much talk of the Author; and had not His Majesty dissolved the Parliament, it had brought him into danger of his life.

He was the first that had ventured to write in the Kings defence, and one amongst very few, (that upon no other ground but knowledge of his duty, and Principles of Equity, without special Interest, was in all points perfectly Loyal.

The 3<sup>d</sup> of *November* following, there

there began a new Parliament, consisting for the greatest part of such men as the people had elected only for their adverseness to the Kings Interest. These proceeded so fiercely in the very beginning against those that had written or preach'd in the defence of any part of that Power, which they then intended to take away, and in gracing those whom the King had disgrac'd for sedition, that M<sup>r</sup> Hobbes doubting how they would use him, went over into *France*, the first of all that fled, and there continued eleven years, to his dammage some thousands of pounds deep. This (D<sup>r</sup>) was your time of harvest: You were in their favour, and that (as you have made it since appear) for no goodness.

Being at *Paris*, he wrote and published his *Book de Cive*, in *Latine*,

tine, to the end that all Nations w<sup>ch</sup>  
 should hear what you and your  
 Concoventers were doing in *En-*  
*gland*, might detest you, which I  
 believe they do ; for I know no  
 Book more magnified than this is  
 beyond the Seas.

When His Majesty that now is  
 came to *Paris*, M<sup>r</sup> *Hobbes* had the  
 honour to initiate him in the Ma-  
 thematiques ; but never was so im-  
 pudent or ignorant as to call or  
 think himself the Kings Tutor, as  
 you (that understand not what that  
 word, out of the University, signi-  
 fies) do falsely charge him with ; or  
 ever to say, that he was one of His  
 Majesties domestique Servants.  
 While upon this occasion he staid  
 about *Paris*, and had neither en-  
 couragement nor desire to return  
 into *England*, he wrote and pub-  
 lished his *Leviathan*, far from the

intention either of disadvantage to His Majesty , or to flatter *Oliver*, (who was not made Protector till three or four years after ) or purpose to make way for his return : For there is scarce a page in it that does not upbraid both him, and you, and others such as you, with your abominable hypocrisie and villany.

Nor did he desert His Majesty, as you falsely accuse him, as His Majesty Himself knows. Nor was His Majesty (as you unmannerly term it) *in distress*. He had the Title, Right, and Reverence of a King, and maintained His faithful Servants with Him. It is true, that Mr *Hobbes* came home ; but it was because he would not trust his safety with the French Clergy.

Do you know that ever he sought any benefit either from

*Oliver*,

*Oliver*, or from any of his Party, or was any way familiar with any of his Ministers, before or after his Return? or curried favour with any of them (as you did by Dedicating a Book to his Vice-Chancellor *Owen*?)

Did you ever hear that he took any thing done to him by His Majesty in evil part, or spake of him otherwise than the best of His Servants would do, or that he was sullen, silent, or sparing, in praising His Majesty in any company, upon any occasion?

He knew who were his enemies, and upon what ground they misconstrued his writings.

But your indiscretion appears more manifestly in giving him occasion to repeat what you have done, and to *consider* you, as you professedly have considered him: For  
with

with what equity can it be denied him to repeat your manifest and horrible crimes, for all you have been pardoned ; when you publish falsly pretended faults of his, and comprehended in the same pardon?

If he should say, and publish, That you decyphered the Letters of the King and His Party, and thereby delivered his Majesties secrets to the Enemy, and His best Friends to the Scaffold, and boasted of it in your Book of Arithmetique (written in Latine) to all the world, as of a Monument of your Wit, worthy to be preserved in the University Library : How will you justifie your self, if you be reproached for having been a Rebel and a Traytor ? It may be you, or some for you, will now say, You decyphered those Letters to the Kings advantage : But then you  
 1117  
 were

ed were unfaithful to your Masters of  
 nd the Parliament : A very honest  
 ve pretence, and full of gallantry, to  
 sh excuse *Treason* with *Treachery*, and  
 nd to be a double Spy. Besides, Who  
 n? will believe it? Who enabled you  
 sh, to do the King that favour? Why  
 ers hearded you with His Enemies?  
 nd Who brought the King into a need  
 se- of such a fellows favour, but they  
 est that first deserted him, and then  
 st- made war upon him, and which  
 re- were your friends, and M<sup>r</sup> *Hobbes*  
 the his enemies. Nay more, I know not  
 our one enemy M<sup>r</sup> *Hobbes* then had, but  
 in such as were first the Kings ene-  
 will mies, and because the Kings,  
 re- therefore his. Your being of that  
 pel Party, (without your decyphering,)  
 or amounts to more than a deserti-  
 de- on. Of the Bishops that then were,  
 the and for whose sakes (in part) you  
 ou raised the War, there was not one  
 ere that

that followed the King out of the Land, though they loved him, but lived quietly under the Protection, first of the Parliament, and then of *Oliver*, (whose Titles and Actions were equally unjust, ) without treachery. Is not this as bad as if they had gone over, and (which was *M<sup>r</sup> Hobbes* his case) been driven back again? I hope you will not call them all desertors, or (because by their stay here openly they accepted of the *Parliaments* and of *Oliver's* Protection) defenders either of *Oliver's*, or of the *Parliaments* Title to the Sovereign Power.

How many were there in that Parliament at first that did indeed and voluntarily desert the King, in consenting to many of their unjust actions? Many of these afterwards; either upon better judgment, or  
because



because they pleased not the Faction, (for it was a hard matter for such as were not of *Pymmes* Cabal to please the Parliament,) or for some other private ends, deserted the Parliament, and did some of them more hurt to the King than if they had staid where they were; (for they had been so affrighted by such as you, with a panique fear of Tyranny, that seeking to help Him by way of composition and sharing, they abated the just and necessary indignation of His Armies, by which only His Right was to be recovered.)

That very entring into the Covenant with the Scottish Nation against the King, is by it self a very great Crime, and you guilty of it. And so was the imposing of the Engagement, and you guilty of that also, as being done by the  
then

then Parliament, whose Democrattical Principles you approved of.

You were also assisting to the Resemblance of Divines that made the *Directory*, and which were afterwards put down by *Oliver* for counterfeiting themselves Embassadors. And this was when the King was living, and in the head of an Army, which with your own endeavour might have protected you. What crime it is (the King being Head of the Church of *England*) to make *Directories*, to alter the *Church-government*, and to set up new Formes of Gods Service, upon your own fancies, without the Kings Authority, the Lawyers could have told you; and what punishment you were to expect from it, you might have seen in the Statute printed before the Book of *Common Prayer*.

Further

Further he may say, and truly,  
 That you were guilty of all the  
 Treasons, Murders, and Spoil com-  
 mitted by *Oliver*, or by any upon  
*Oliver's* or the *Parliaments* Autho-  
 rity: For, during the late trouble,  
 who made both *Oliver* and the  
 people mad, but the Preachers of  
 your Principles? But besides the  
 wickedness, see the folly of it. You  
 thought to make them mad, but  
 just to such a degree as should  
 serve your own turn; that is to say,  
 mad, and yet just as wise as your  
 selves. Were you not very impru-  
 dent to think to govern madness?  
*Paul* they knew, but who were  
 you? Who were they that put the  
 Army into *Oliver's* hands, (who be-  
 fore, as mad as he was, was too  
 weak, and too obscure to do any  
 great mischief) with which Army  
 he executed upon such as you, both  
 here

here and in *Scotland*, that which the justice of God required.

Therefore, of all the Crimes (the Great Crime not excepted) done in that Rebellion, you were guilty; you, I say, *D<sup>r</sup> Wallis*, (how little force or wit soever you contributed) for your good will to their cause. The King was hunted as a Partridge in the Mountains; and though the Hounds have been hang'd; yet the Hunters were as guilty as they, and deserved no less punishment. And the Decyphers, and all that blew the horn, are to be reckoned amongst the Hunters. Perhaps you would not have had the prey killed, but rather have kept it tame. And yet who can tell? I have read of few Kings deprived of their Power by their own Subjects, that have lived any long time after it, for reasons that an  
every

every man is able to conjecture.

All this is so manifest as it needs no witnesses. In the mean time Mr *Hobbes* his behaviour was such, that of them who appeared in that Scene, he was the only man I know (except a few that had the same Principles with him) that has not something more or less to blush for ; as having either assisted that rebellious Parliament, without necessity, (when they might have had Protection from the King, if they had resorted to him for it in the field,) by Covenanting, or by Action, or with Money, or Plate, or by Voting against His Majesties Interest, in Himself, or His friends ; though some of them have since by extraordinary Service deserved to be received into favour: But what's that to you? You are none of them; and yet you dare to reproach the

B                      guiltless,

guiltless, as if after so ill fruits of your Sermons, it were not impudence enough to preach.

I admire further, That having been forgiven these so transcendent Crimes, (so great a debt to the Gallows) you take Mr *Hobbes* by the throat for a word in his *Leviathan*, made a fault by malicious or over-hasty construction: For you have thereby, like the unmerciful debtor in the Gospel, (in my opinion) forfeited your pardon, and so, without a new one, may be changed yet.

To that other Charge, *That he hath writ his Leviathan in defence of Oliver's Title*, he will say, That you in your own conscience know it is false. What was *Oliver* when that Book came forth? It was in 1650, and Mr *Hobbes* returned before 1651. *Oliver* was then but General under

under your Masters of the Parlia-  
ment, nor had yet cheated them of  
their usurped Power: For that was  
not done till two or three years af-  
ter, in 1653. which neither he nor  
you could foresee: What Title  
then of *Oliver's* could he pretend  
to justifie? But you will say, He pla-  
ced the right of Government there  
whersoever should be the strength;  
and so by consequence he placed it  
in *Oliver*. Is that all? Then prima-  
rily his *Leviathan* was intended for  
your Masters of the Parliament, be-  
cause the strength was then in  
them: Why did they not thank  
him for it, both they and *Oliver* in  
their turns? There (Doctor) you  
is decypher'd ill: For it was written  
in the behalf of those many and  
50 faithful Servants and Subjects of  
His Majesty that had taken His part  
in the War, or otherwise done  
their

their utmost end-avours to defend  
 His Majesties Right and Person a-  
 gainst the Rebels ; whereby, ha-  
 ving no other means of Protection,  
 nor (for the most part) of subsist-  
 ence, were forced to compound  
 with your Masters, and to promise  
 Obedience for the saving of their  
 lives and fortunes, which in his  
 Book he hath affirmed they might  
 lawfully do, and consequently not  
 lawfully bear Arms against the Vi-  
 ctors. They that had done their  
 utmost endeavour to perform their  
 obligation to the King, had done  
 all that they could be obliged un-  
 to ; and were consequently at li-  
 berty to seek the safety of their  
 lives and livelihood wheresoever,  
 and without Treachery. But there  
 is nothing in that Book to justify  
 the submission of you, (or such as  
 you) to the Parliament, after the  
 King



Kings being driven from them, or to *Oliuer*; for you were the Kings Enemies, and cannot pretend want of that Protection which you your selves refused, denied, fought against, and destroyed. If a man owe you money, and you by robbing him, or other injury, disable him to pay you, the fault's your own; nor needs this exception, *Unless the Creditor rob him*, be put into the Condition of the Bond. Protection and Obedience are Relative. He that says a man may submit to an enemy for want of Protection, can never be construed, but that he meant it of the Obedient. But let us consider his words. They are in *pag. 390*. Where he puts for a Law of Nature, *That every man is bound as much as in him lieth, to protect in warr the Authority by which he is himself protected*

*in time of Peace ; which I think is a no ungodly nor unreasonable Principle. For confirmation of it, he defines in what point of time it is, that a Subject becomes obliged to obey an unjust Conquerour : And defines it thus ; It is that point wherein having liberty to submit to the Conquerour, he consenteth either by expresse words, or by other sufficient signes, to be his Subject.*

I cannot see, Doctor, how a man can be at liberty to submit to his new, that has not first done all he could for his old Master : Nor if he have done all he could, why that liberty should be refused him. If a man be taken by the Turk, and brought by terrour to fight against his former Master, I see how he may be kill'd for it, as an enemy, but not as a Criminal : Nor can I see how he that hath liberty to submit, can

is at the same time be bound not to submit.

But you will say, perhaps, That he defines the time of that liberty to the advantage of *Oliver*, in that he says that *for an ordinary Subject, it is then, when the means of his life are within the Guards and Garrisons of the Enemy ; for it is then, that he hath no protection but from the Enemy, for his Contribution.* It was not necessary for him to explain it to men of so great understanding, that you and other his enemies pretend to be, by putting in the exception, *Unless they came into those Guards and Garrisons by their own treason.* Do you think that *Oliver's* Party, for their submission to *Oliver*, could pretend the want of that Protection?

The words therefore by themselves, without that exception, do

signifie no more than this, *That* *whosoever* had done as much as in him did lye to protect the King in War, had liberty afterwards to provide themselves of such Protection as they could get; which to those whose means of life were within the Guards and Garrisons of *Oliver*, was *Oliver's* Protection.

Do you think when a Battell is lost, and you at the mercy of the Enemy, it is unlawful to receive Quarter with condition of Obedience? Or if you receive it on that condition, do you think it honest to break promise, and treacherously murder him that gave you your life? If that were good Doctrine, he were a foolish enemy that would give Quarter to any man.

You see then, that this submission on to *Oliver*, or to your then Masters, is allowed by *Mr Hobbes* his Doctrine

Doctrin only to the Kings faithful Party, and not to any that fought against him, howsoever they coloured it, by saying they fought for the King and Parliament; nor to any that writ or preached against His cause, or encouraged His Adversaries; nor to any that betrayed His Counsels, or that intercepted or decyphered any Letters of His, or of His Officers, or of any of His Party; nor to any that by any way had contributed to the diminution of His Majesties Power, Ecclesiastical or Civil; nor does it absolve any of them from their Allegiance. You that make it so heinous a crime for a man to save himself from violent death, by a forc'd submission to an Usurper, should have considered what crime it was to submit voluntarily to that Usurping Parliament.

I can tell you besides why those words were put into his last Chapter, which he calls the Review. It happened at that time that there were many Honourable Persons, that having been faithful and unblemished Servants of the King, and Souldiers in His Army, had their Estates then Sequestred ; of whom some were fled, but the fortunes of them all were at the mercy (not of *Oliver*, but) of the *Parliament*. Some of these were admitted to Composition, some not. They that Compounded, though they help'd the Parliament less by their Composition, than they should have done (if they had stood out) by their Confiscation, yet they were ill spoken of, especially by those that had no Estates to lose, nor hope to Compound. And it was for this that he added

to

to what he had written before, this caution, That if they would compound, they were to do it *bona fide*, without intention of Treachery. Whetein he justified their Submission by their former Obedience, and present Necessity; but condemned Treachery. Whereas you that pretend to abhor Atheism, condemn that which was done upon necessity, and justify the Treachery: And you had reason for it, that cannot otherwise justify yourselves. Those struglings which happened afterwards, lost His Majesty many a good and able Subject, and strengthened *Oliver* with the Confiscation of their Estates, which if they had attended the discord of their Enemies, might have been saved.

Perhaps you will take for a sign of M<sup>r</sup> *Hobbes* his ill meaning, that  
His

His Majesty was displeased with him. And truly I believe He was displeased for a while, but not very long. They that complained of, and mis-contrued his writings, were His Majesties good Subjects, and reputed wise and learned men, and thereby obtained to have their mis-construction believed for some little time : But the very next Summer after his coming away, two Honourable Persons of the Court that came over into *England*, assured him that His Majesty had a good opinion of him ; and others since have told me, that His Majesty said openly, That He thought Mr *Hobbes* never meant Him hurt. Besides His Majesty hath used him more graciously than is ordinary to so humble a person as he is, and so great a Delinquent as you would make him, and testified His esteem  
of



of him in His bounty. What Argument now can you draw from hence more than this, That His Majesty understood his writings better than his accusers did.

I admire in the next place, upon what ground you accuse him (and with him all those that have approved his *Leviathan*) with Atheism. I thought once, that that slander had had some (though not firm) ground in that you call his new Divinity : But for that point he will alledge these words of his *Leviathan*, pag. 238. *By which it seemeth to me (with submission nevertheless both in this and all other Questions, whereof the determination dependeth on the Scriptures, to the Interpretation of the Bible authorized by the Commonwealth, whose Subject I am,) That, &c.* What is there in these words but Modesty and Obedience ? But  
you

you were at this time in actual Rebellion. M<sup>r</sup> Hobbes, that holds Religion to be a Law, did in order thereto condemn the maintenance of any of his Opinions against the Law; and you that reproach him for them upon your own account, should also have shewn by your own learning, wherein the Scripture, which was his sole proof, was mis-cited, or mis-contrued by him; (for he submitted to the Laws, that is to say, to the Kings Doctrine, not to yours;) and not have insulted for the victory won by the power of the Law, to which you were then an enemy.

Another Argument of Atheism you take from his denying *immaterial*, or *incorporeal substances*. Let any man impartially now compare his Religion with yours, by this very measure, and judge which  
of

of the two favours most of Athe-  
ism.

It is by all Christians confess, that God is *incomprehensible* ; that is to say, that there is nothing can arise in our fancy from the naming of him, to resemble him either in *shape, colour, stature, or nature* ; there is no Idea of him ; he is like nothing that we can think on: What then ought we to say of him ? What Attributes are to be given him, not speaking otherwise than we think, nor otherwise than is fit, by those who mean to honour him ? None but such as M<sup>r</sup> Hobbes hath set down, namely, expressions of reverence, such as are in use amongst men for signs of Honour, and consequently signify *Goodness, Greatness, and Happiness* ; and either absolutely put, as *Good, Holy, Mighty, Blessed, Just, Wise, Merciful,*

ful, &c. or *Superlative*, as *most Good*, *most Great*, *most Mighty*, *Almighty*, *most Holy*, &c. or *Negative*, of whatsoever is not perfect, as *Infinite*, *Eternal*, and the like: And not such as neither Reason nor Scripture hath approved for Honourable. This is the Doctrine that Mr *Hobbes* hath written, both in his *Leviathan*, and in his Book *de Cive*, and when occasion serves, maintains. What kind of Attribute I pray you is *immaterial*, or *incorporeal substance*? Where do you find it in the Scripture? Whence came it hither, but from *Plato* and *Aristotle* Heathens, who mistook those thin Inhabitants of the brain they see in sleep, for so many *incorporeal* men; and yet allow them motion, which is proper only to things *corporeal*? Do you think it an honour to God to be one of these?

And

And would you learn Christianity from *Plato* and *Aristotle* ? But seeing there is no such word in the Scripture, how will you warrant it from natural reason ? Neither *Plato* nor *Aristotle* did ever write of, or mention an *incorporeal Spirit* ; for they could not conceive how a Spirit, which in their language was *πνεῦμα* ( in ours a *Wind* ) could be *incorporeal*. Do you understand the connection of *substance* and *incorporeal* ? If you do, explain it in English ; for the words are Latin. It is something, you'll say ; that being *without body*, *stands under*---. Stands under what ? Will you say *under Accidents* ? Almost all the Fathers of the Church will be against you ; and then you are an *Atheist*. Is not M<sup>r</sup> *Hobbes* his way of *Attributing* to God, that only which the Scriptures *Attribute*

bute to him, or what is never any where taken but for honour, much better than this bold undertaking of yours, to *consider* and decypher Gods *nature* to us ?

For a third Argument of Atheism you put, That he says, *Besides the Creation of the World, there is no Argument to prove a Deity ; and, That it cannot be evinced by any Argument that the World had a Beginning ; and, That whether it had or no, is to be decided not by Argument, but by the Magistrates Authority.* That it may be decided by the Scriptures, he never denied : Therefore in that also you slander him. And as for Arguments from natural Reason, neither you, nor any other have hitherto brought any (except the Creation) that has not made it more doubtful to many men than it was before. That  
which

which he hath written concerning such Arguments, is in his Book *De Corpore*. *Opinions* (saith he) concerning the nature of Infinite and Eternal, as the chiefeft of the fruits of *Wisedom*, God hath reserved to himself, and made Judges of them, those men whose Ministry he meant to use in the ordering of Religion; and therefore I cannot praise those men that brag of Demonstration of the Beginning of the World from natural reason. And again, pag. 238. Wherefore I pass by those Questions of Infinite and Eternal, contenting my self with such Doctrines concerning the Beginning and Magnitude of the World, as I have learnt from the Scripture, confirmed by Miracles, and from the use of my Country, and from the Reverence I owe to the Law. This, Doctor, is not ill said, and yet 'tis all you ground your slander on,

which you make to sneak vilely under a crooked Paraphrase.

These Opinions, I said, were to be judged by those to whom God has committed the ordering of Religion ; that is, to the Supream Governors of the Church, that is, in *England*, to the King : By His Authority, I say, it ought to be decided, (not what men shall think, but) what they shall say in those Questions. And me thinks you should not dare to deny it ; for it is a manifest relapse into your former Crimes.

But why do you stile the King by the name of *Magistrate* ? Do you find *Magistrate* to signifie any where the Person that hath the Sovereign Power, or not every where the Sovereigns Officers. And I think you knew that ; but you and your fellows (your fellows I call all those that



that are so besmeared all over with the filth of the same Crime, as not to be distinguished,) meant to make your Assembly the Sovereign, and the King your *Magistrate*. I pray God you do not mean so still, if opportunity be presented.

There has hitherto appeared in Mr *Hobbes* his Doctrine no sign of Atheism; and whatsoever can be inferr'd from the denying of *Incorporeal Substances*, makes *Tertullian*, one of the ancientest of the Fathers, and most of the Doctors of the Greek Church, as much Atheists as he: For *Tertullian* in his Treatise *De Carne Christi*, says plainly, *Omne quod est, corpus est sui generis. Nihil est incorporale, nisi quod non est.* That is to say, *Whatsoever is any thing, is a body of its kind. Nothing is Incorporeal, but that which has no Being.* There are many o-

ther places in him to the same purpose : For that Doctrine served his turn to confute the Hæresie of them that held that Christ had no body, but was a *Ghost* : Also of the Soul he speaks, as of an invisible body. And there is an Epitome of the Doctrine of the Eastern Church, wherein is this, That they thought Angels and Souls were *Corporeal*, and only called *Incorporeal*, because their bodies were not like ours. And I have heard that a Patriarch of *Constantinople*, in a Council held there, did argue for the lawfulness of painting Angels, from this, that they were *Corporeal*. You see what fellows in Atheism you joyn with M<sup>r</sup> Hobbes.

How unfained your own Religion is, may be argued strongly, demonstratively, from your behaviour that I have already recited.

Do

Do you think, you that have committed so abominable sins, not through infirmity, or sudden transport of Passion, but premeditatedly, wilfully, for twenty years together, that any rational man can think you believe your selves, when you preach of Heaven and Hell, or that you do not believe one another to be Cheaters and Impostors, and to laugh at silly people in your sleeves for believing you ; or that you applaud not your own wit for it ; though for my part I could never conceive that very much wit was requisite for the making of a knave. And in the Pulpit most of you have been a scandal to Christianity, by preaching up sedition, and crying down Moral virtue. You should have preach'd against unjust *Ambition*, *Covetousness*, *Gluttony*, *Malice*, *Disobedience to Government*,

*Fraud*, and *Hypocrisie*: But for  
 the most part you preach'd your  
 own Controversies, about who  
 should be uppermost, or other  
 fruitless and unedifying Doctrines.  
 When did any of you preach a-  
 gainst *Hypocrisie*? You dare not in  
 the Pulpit (I think) so much as  
 name it; lest you set the Church a  
 laughing: And you in particular,  
 when you said in a Sermon, That  
*Sophos* was not in *Homer*; what edi-  
 fication could the people have  
 from that, though it had been true,  
 as 'tis false? (For it is in his *Iliade*,  
*lib. 15. vers. 363.*) Another I heard  
 make half his Sermon of this Do-  
 ctrine, That God never sent a great  
*Deliverance*, but in a great *Danger*:  
 Which is indeed true, because the  
 greatness of the Danger makes the  
 greatness of the Deliverance, but  
 for the same cause ridiculous; and  
 the

the other half he took to construe  
 the Greek of his Text. And yet  
 such Sermons are much applauded.  
 But why? First, Because they make  
 not the people ashamed of any  
 Vices. Secondly, Because they like  
 the Preacher, for using to find fault  
 with the Government or Governors.  
 Thirdly, For their vehemence,  
 which they mistake for Zeal.  
 Fourthly, For their zeal to their  
 own ends, which they mistake for  
 zeal to Gods Worship. I have  
 heard besides divers Sermons made  
 by Phanatiques, young men, and  
 whom by that, and their habit, I  
 imagined to be Apprentices; and  
 found little difference between  
 their Sermons, and the Sermons of  
 such as you, either in respect of  
 Wisdom, or Eloquence, or Veho-  
 mence, or Applause of common  
 people.

Therefore

Therefore I wonder how you can pretend (as you do in your Petition, for a Dispensation from the Ceremonies of the Church) to be either better Preachers than those that Conform, or to have tenderer Consciences than other men. You that have covered such black designs with the Sacred words of Scripture, why can you not as well find in your hearts to cover a black Gown with a white Surplice? Or what Idolatry do you find in making the signe of the Cross, when the Law commands it? Though I think you may conform without sin, yet I think you might have been also dispensed with without sin, if you had dispensed in like manner with other Ministers that subscribed to the Articles of the Church. And if tenderness of Conscience be a good Plea, you must

must give M<sup>r</sup> *Hobbes* also leave to plead tenderness of Conscience to his new Divinity, as well as you. I should wonder also how any of you should dare to speak to a multitude met together, without being limited by His Majesty what they shall say, especially now that we have felt the smart of it, but that it is a relique of the Ecclesiastical policy of the Popes, that found it necessary for the dis-joyning of the people from their too close adherence to their Kings, or other Civil Governours.

But it may be you will say, That the rest of the Clergy, Bishops, and Episcopable men, no friends of yours, and against whose Office M<sup>r</sup> *Hobbes* never writ any thing, speak no better of his Religion than you do.

'Tis true, he never wrote against Episcopacy ;

Episcopacy; and it is his private opinion, That such an Episcopacy as is now in *England*, is the most commodious that a Christian King can use for the governing of Christs Flock, the misgoverning whereof the King is to answer for to Christ, as the Bishops are to answer for their mis-goverment to the King, and to God also. Nor ever spake he ill of any of them, as to their persons: Therefore I should wonder the more at the uncharitable censure of some of them, but that I see a relique still remaining of the venome of Popish Ambition, lurking in that seditious *distinction* and *division* between the Power *Spiritual* and *Civil*, which they that are in love with a Power to hurt all those that stand in competition with them for Learning (as the Roman Clergy had to hurt *Galileo*)



*Galileo*) do not willingly forsake. All Bishops are not in every point like one another. Some it may be are content to hold their Authority from the Kings Letters Patents; and these have no cause to be angry with M<sup>r</sup> *Hobbes*. Others will needs have somewhat more, they know not what, of Divine Right, to Govern by vertue of *Imposition of Hands*, and *Consecration*, not acknowledging their Power from the King, but immediatly from Christ. And these perhaps are they that are displeased with him, which he cannot help, nor has deserved; but will for all that believe the King only, and without sharers, to be the Head of all the Churches within His own Dominions; and that he may dispence with Ceremonies, or with any thing else that is not against the Scriptures, nor against natural

natural equity ; and that the consent of the Lords and Commons cannot now give Him that Power, but declare for the people their advice and consent to it. Nor can he be made believe that the safety of a State depends upon the safety of the Church, I mean, of the Clergy : For neither is a Clergy essential to a Common-wealth ; and those Ministers that preached sedition pretend to be of the Clergy, as well as the best. He believes rather that the safety of the Church depends on the safety of the King, and the entireness of the Sovereign Power ; and that the King is no part of the Flock of any Minister or Bishop, no more than the Shepherd is of his Sheep, but of Christ only ; and all the Clergy, as well as the people, the Kings Flock. Nor can that clamour of

his

his adversaries make Mr Hobbes think himself a worse Christian than the best of them. And how will you disprove it, either by his disobedience to the *Laws Civil*, or *Ecclesiastical*, or by any ugly action? Or how will you prove that the obedience which springs from scorn of Injustice, is less acceptable to God, than that which proceeds from fear of punishment, or hope of benefit. Gravity and heaviness of countenance are not so good marks of assurance of Gods favour, as chearful, charitable, and upright behaviour towards men, which are better signes of Religion than the zealous maintaining of controverted Doctrines. And therefore I am verily perswaded, it was not his Divinity that displeased you or them, but somewhat else, which you are not willing

ling to pretend. As for your party, that which angered you, I believe, was this passage of his *Leviathan*, pag. 89. Whereas some men have pretended for their disobedience to their Sovereign; a new Covenant made, not with men, but with God; this also is unjust: For there is no Covenant with God, but by mediation of some body that representeth Gods Person; which none doth but Gods Lieutenant, who hath the Sovereignty under God: But this pretence of Covenant with God is so evident a lye (this is it that angered you) even in the pretenders own Consciences; that it is not only an act of an unjust; but also of a vile and unmanly disposition.

Besides his making the King Judge of Doctrines to be preach'd or published, hath offended you both; so has also his Attributing

to the Civil Sovereign all Power  
*Sacerdotal*. But this perhaps may  
 seem hard when the Sovereignty is  
 in a Queen : But it is because  
 you are not subtile enough to per-  
 ceive, that though *Man* be *male* and  
*female*, *Authority* is not. To please  
 neither party is easie ; but to please  
 both, unless you could better agree  
 amongst your selves than you do,  
 is impossible. Your differences  
 have troubled the Kingdom, as if  
 you were the Houses revived of  
*York* and *Lancaster*. A man would  
 wonder how a little *Latine* and  
*Greek* should work so mightily,  
 when the Scriptures are in *English*,  
 as that the King and Parliament can  
 hardly keep you quiet, especially in  
 time of danger from abroad. If  
 you will needs quarrel, decide it  
 amongst your selves, and draw not  
 the people into your parties.

D

You

You were angry also for his blaming the Scholastical Philosophers, and denying such fine things as these, *That the Species or Apparences of Bodies come from the thing we look on, into the Eye, and so make us see; and into the Understanding, to make us understand; and into the Memory, to make us remember. That a Body may be just the same it was, and yet bigger or lesser. That Eternity is a permanent Now; and the like. And for detecting, further than you thought fit, the fraud of the Roman Clergy.* Your dislike of his Divinity was the least cause of your calling him Atheist. But no more of this now.

The next head of your Contumelies is to make him contemptible, and to move Mr Boyle to pity him. This is a way of railing too much beaten to be thought Witty.

As for the thing it self, I doubt your Intelligence is not good, and that you Algebricians, and Non-conformists do but say it to comfort one another. For your own part you condemn him not, or else you did very foolishly to Entitle the beginning of your Book *Mr Hobbes considered*, which argues he is considerable enough to you. Besides, 'tis no Argument of contempt to spend upon him so many angry lines as would have furnished you with a dozen of Sermons: If you had in good earnest despised him, you would have let him alone, as he does *D<sup>r</sup> Ward*, *M<sup>r</sup> Baxter*, *Pike*, and others, that have reviled him as you do. As for his reputation beyond the Seas, it fades not yet: And because perhaps you have no means to know it, I will cite you a passage of an Epistle written by a

D 2

Learned

Learned Frenchman to an eminent Person in *France*, a passage not impertinent to the point now in question. It is in a Volume of Epistles, the fourth in order, and the words, *pag. 167.* concerning Chymists, are these ; Truly Sir, *as much as I admire them, when I see them lute an Alembick handsomely, philter a Liquor, build an Athanor, so much I mislike them when I hear them discourse upon the Subject of their Operations ; and yet they think all they do is nothing in respect of what they say : I wish they would take less pains, and be at less charges ; and whilst they wash their hands after their work, they would leave to those that attend to the polishing of their discourse, I mean the Galileo's, the Descarteses, the Hobbeses, the Bacons, and the Gassendi's, to reason upon their work, and themselves to*  
hear



hear what the Learned and Judicious shall tell them, such as are used to discern the differences of things. *Quam scit uterque libens censebo exerceat artem.* And more to the same purpose.

What is here said of Chymists, is applicable to all other Mechaniques.

Every man that hath spare money can get Furnaces, and buy coals. Every man that hath spare money can be at the charge of making great Moulds, and hiring Workmen to grind their Glasses, and so may have the best and greatest Telescopes: They can get Engines made, and apply them to the Stars; Recipients made, and try conclusions; but they are never the more Philosophers for all this. 'Tis laudable, I confess, to bestow money upon curious or useful delights;

lights ; but that is none of the praises of a Philosopher. And yet, because the multitude cannot judge, they will pass with the unskilful, for skilful in all parts of natural Philosophy. And I hear now that *Hugenius* and *Enſtachio Divini* are to be tried by their Glasses, who is the more skilful in *Optiques* of the two ; but for my part, before M<sup>r</sup> *Hobbes* his Book *De Homine* came forth, I never saw any thing written of that subject intelligibly. Do not you tell me now, according to your wonted ingenuity, that I never saw *Euclid's*, *Vitelio's*, and many other men *Optiques*, as if I could not distinguish between *Geometry* and *Optiques*.

So also of all other Arts ; not every one that brings from beyond Sea a new Gin, or other janty device, is therefore a Philosopher :

For

For if you reckon that way, not, only Apothecaries and Gardeners, but many other sorts of workmen, will put in for, and get the Prize. Then, when I see the Gentlemen of *Cresbam* Colledg apply themselves to the Doctrine of Motion, (as M<sup>r</sup> *Hobbes* has done, and will be ready to help them in it, if they please, and so long as they use him civilly,) I will look to know some Causes of natural Events from them, and their Register, and not before : For Nature does nothing but by Motion.

I hear that the reason given by M<sup>r</sup> *Hobbes*, why the drop of Glasse so much wondred at, shivers into so many pieces, by breaking only one small part of it, is approved for probable, and Registred in their Colledg : But he has no reason to take it for a favour, because

hereafter the Invention may be taken by that means not for his, but theirs.

To the rest of your calumnies the Answers will be short, and such as you might easily have foreseen. And first, for his boasting of his Learning, it is well summ'd up by you in these words; *'Twas a motion made by one (whom I will not name) that some idle person should read over all his Books, and collecting together his arrogant and supercilious speeches, applauding himself, and despising all other men, set them forth in one Synopsis, with this Title, Hobbius de se. What a pretty piece of Pageantry this would make, I shall leave to your own thoughts.*

Thus say you: Now says Mr Hobbes, or I for him, Let your idle Person do it, and set down no more than he has witten, (as high praises

as they be) I'll promise you he shall  
 acknowledg them under his hand,  
 and be commended for it, and you  
 scorned. A certain Roman Sena-  
 tor, having propounded something  
 in the Assembly of the People,  
 which they misliking made a noise  
 at, boldly bad them hold their  
 peace, and told them he knew bet-  
 ter what was good for the Com-  
 mon-wealth than all they : And  
 his words are transmitted to us as an  
 Argument of his Virtue ; So much  
 do Truth and Vanity alter the  
 complection of self-praise. Be-  
 sides, you can have very little skill  
 in Morality, that cannot see the Ju-  
 stice of commending a mans self,  
 as well as of any thing else, in his  
 own defence : And it was want of  
 prudence in you, to constrain him  
 to a thing that would so much dis-  
 please you. That part of his self-  
 praise

praise which most offends you is in the end of his *Leviathan*, in these words ; *Therefore I think it may be profitably printed, and more profitably taught in the Universities, in case they also think so, to whom the judgment of the same belongeth.* Let any man consider the truth of it. Where did those Ministers learn their seditious Doctrine, and to preach it, but there ? Where therefore should Preachers learn to teach Loyalty, but there ? And if your Principles produced Civil War, must not the contrary Principles, which are his, produce Peace ? And consequently his Book, as far as it handles Civil Doctrine, deserves to be taught there : But when can this be done ? When you shall have no longer an Army ready to maintain the evil Doctrine wherewith you have infected the people.

people. By a ready Army I mean Arms, and Money, and men enough, though not yet in pay, and put under Officers, yet gathered together in one place or City, to be put under Officers, armed, and payed on any sudden occasion; such as are the people of a great and populous Town. Every great City is as a standing Army, which if it be not under the Sovereigns command, the people are miserable; if they be, they may be taught their duties in the Universities safely & easily, and be happy. I never read of any Christian King that was a Tyrant, though the best of Kings have been call'd so.

Then for the *Moresity* and *Peevishness* you charge him with, all that know him familiarly, know 'tis a false accusation. But you mean, it may be, only towards those that argue against his Opinion: But  
neither

neither is that true. When vain and ignorant young Schollars, unknown to him before, come to him on purpose to argue with him, and to extort applause for their foolish Opinions, and missing of their end, fall into undiscreeet and uncivil expressions, and he then appear not very well contented, 'tis not his *Moresity*, but their *Vanity* that should be blamed. But what humor (if not *Morosity* and *Peevishness*) was that of yours, whom he never had injured, or seen, or heard of, to use toward him such insolent, injurious, and clownish words, as you did in your absurd *Elenchus*?

Was it not impatience of seeing any dissent from you in opinion? *M<sup>r</sup> Hobbes* has been alwaies far from provoking any man, though when he is provok'd, you find his pen as sharp as yours.

Again,



Again, when you make his Age a reproach to him, and shew no cause that might impair the faculties of his mind but only Age, I admire how you saw not that you reproached all old men in the world as much as him, and warranted all young men, at a certain time, which they themselves shall define, to call you *fool*. Your dislike of old age you have also otherwise sufficiently signified, in venturing so fairly as you have done to escape it. But that is no great matter to one that hath so many marks upon him of much greater reproaches. By Mr *Hobbes* his Calculation, that derives Prudence from Experience, and Experience from Age, you are a very young man; but by your own reckoning, you are older already than *Methuselah*.

Lastly, Who told you that he  
writ

writ against Mr Boyle, whom in his writing he never mentioned? And that it was because Mr Boyle was acquainted with you? I know the contrary. I have heard him wish it had been some person of lower condition that had been the Author of the Doctrine which he opposed, and therefore opposed because it was false, and because his own could not otherwise be defended. But thus much I think is true, that he thought never the better of his Judgment, for mistaking you for Learned. This is all I thought fit to answer for him & his manners. The rest is of his Geometry and Philosophy, concerning which I say only this, That there is too much in your Book to be confuted: Almost every line may be disproved, or ought to be reprehended. In sum, it is all Errour and Railing, that is,

*stinking*

(63)

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*stinking wind*, such as a Jade lets fly  
when he is two hard guirt upon a  
full belly. I have done. I have  
considered you now, but will not  
again, whatsoever preferment any  
of your friends shall procure you.

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FINIS.

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